

THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS EXISTS TO SUBVERT  
THE SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE

The Pan Africanist Congress has a long and sordid history of attempting to subvert the struggle for liberation in South Africa. One of the aims of the "leadership" of this organisation (if it can be called that at all) was to collect for themselves as much money as possible. In the course of fighting over their loot the 'organisation' has broke up into numerous factions. There have been expulsions and counter-expulsions, accusations and recriminations.

In September 1967 the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa made an attempt to unite the numerous factions which developed within its ranks since it split from the African National Congress of South Africa in 1959. But their re-unification talks at Moshi, Tanzania, in September, 1967 have already led to another cleavage in what is often called the "leadership" of the P.A.C.

The "leadership" of the P.A.C. hastily had to convene a Conference to overcome their internal difficulties in order to forestall the implementation of a decision adopted by the Organisation for African Unity Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa which called upon the P.A.C. to unite or suffer the remedial action which the Liberation Committee intended to take.

When the P.A.C. "re-unification" talks took place at Moshi they did so against the background of serious internal bickering and faction fights among their members in Dar es Salaam. In view of the gravity of the internecine squabbles in P.A.C., the Government of the Republic of Tanzania closed the offices of the P.A.C. in Dar es Salaam.

It is our intention to examine that period of trouble in the P.A.C. as it will be quite clear from the attached copy of a letter (Annexure A) written by an officer of the Christian Council in Tanzania that the "Leballo group" had the upperhand in the manner the Moshi "unity" Conference was convened in September 1967.

One of the results of the Moshi "unity" Conference was to suspend the Treasurer-General of the P.A.C., Mr.A.B. Ngcobo. A Commission of Inquiry was set up to investigate the accounts of the P.A.C. and to examine Ngcobo on how he had kept the funds of the P.A.C. as Treasurer-General.

The Commission of Inquiry consisted of Messrs.Z.B. Molete, J.D. Nyaoase, and P.N. Raboroko. When A.B. Ngcobo circulated a damning document showing how Leballo and Nyaoase had individually failed to hand over to the Treasurer-General of P.A.C. the funds which they obtained from various countries in the name of the P.A.C. such as the United Arab Republic and China, for instance, the Commission of Inquiry could not conduct its investigations any further. The Commission was compelled to abandon its duty as one of its members J.D. Nyaoase, was directly involved in the failure to hand over funds to A.B. Ngcobo who was P.A.C. Treasurer-General at the time. The Commission of Inquiry also feared being expelled from the P.A.C. if it should dare investigate the conduct of Mr.P.K. Leballo in regard to the funds that Ngcobo's evidence shows to have been received by him.

We believe that the A.B. Ngcobo statement on the finances of the P.A.C. has been submitted to the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa. We hope it shall not be necessary for us to reproduce it here as that would make our statement too long.

Insofar as P.N. Raboroko is concerned as a member of the Commission of Inquiry, the copy of the letter (Annexure A) attached herewith clearly shows that he and A.B. Ngcobo have at one time jointly gone round collecting funds in the U.S.A.

As far as J.D. Nyaoase is concerned we only have to refer to some of the documents he has circulated in which he showed how dangerous P.K. Leballo was to the South African Revolution. The most recent of these exposures by Nyaoase was written from Addis Ababa in February 1967 and addressed to a group of P.A.C. dissidents who were in Nairobi, Kenya. In that document, J.D. Nyaoase unleashed a scathing attack on the Government of Tanzania.

Let us quote a few extracts from the documents which the P.A.C. "leadership" has circulated either as an attack on the A.N.C. or an attack on one another. It is in these documents that one can clearly see that the P.A.C. will never be able to prosecute the liberation struggle in South Africa, and in fact is consistently subverting it.

    / the official organ of the PAC;  
In Azania News/Vol.3 Nos. 1-2 January 1968, reference is made to one of the foremost spokesman of the P.A.C. in the following terms:-

"Incidentally, the latter view (that is, a "continental organisation under a central command") is shared by the detached commentator, Matthew Nkoana, former P.A.C. representative in London, who has consistently taken a view that is contrary to the official approach even when he claims to be speaking for the Pan Africanist Congress. Nkoana is quite adept at combining reactionary substance with revolutionary phrases to make a counter-revolutionary proposition sound revolutionary. Certainly this is the traditional mechanism of the adventurist who shows great ability in seeing how a revolution can be run in every place except in the camp of aggression, where it should of necessity be conducted, and proposes many brilliant moves, except the necessary move to organise and conduct revolution at the right place under the right conditions."

Matthew Nkoana participated at the Moshi P.A.C. "re-unification" Conference. He is still a leading member of the P.A.C.

In the P.A.C. application for membership of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation dated April 4, 1966 they deny charges against them which they have dismally failed to refute :-

"The A.N.C. accuses our leadership of responsibility for arrests in South Africa in March and April 1963. Like all arm-chair critics and fault-finders they fail in the face of simple facts

to attribute the arrests to the "Snyman Report" which urged Parliament to take firm and urgent action against Poqo, the military wing of the P.A.C. However, they have fallen for a plot hatched by the South African government together with the British Administration in Basutoland and their agents in an attempt to blackmail and even discredit the leadership of the P.A.C. for their own purpose.

"It is only natural, even if impolitic for the A.N.C. as a dethroned rival to seek to make capital out of this, but as Chairman Mao has observed, those who want to accuse should not speak before they investigated."

But the P.A.C. should remember that apart from our exposure of the counter-revolutionary work of the P.A.C. inside South Africa, one of their own members has denounced them. On the 18th September, 1965 J.D. Nyaoase issued a circular Letter No.1, styling himself as:

"President Chairman of all PARTY Conferences of the P.A.C. in South Africa, Secretary for Labour and Member of the Central Committee in the Pan Africanist Congress Party, in reply to Messrs. Potlako K. Leballo (National Secretary and now inter-alia ACTION PRESIDENT) of the Pan Africanist Congress."

saying:

"The habit of gossiping and tail-beating to the South African police, Embassies, Governments and Organisations about party secrets and internal differences even exposing what he thinks is the Pan Africanist Congress Party programme in our struggle for National Liberation, has proved to be Leballo's assignment and role to play of late in the Party, as from March 1963. And the only people who are thankful to Mr. Leballo's activities in the P.A.C. is the Verwoerd South African Government.

"It is possible that Mr. Leballo, undertook this



new role in the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa, as a condition of protection which he badly needed to save his own life when the party membership and people at home attempted to kill him in Maseru (Basutoland), after their Leballo-Molete press conference in March 1963 which caused the arrest of more than 10,000 political activists in South Africa following the publicity of P.A.C. programme of action secrets which they exposed in advance in order to alert the South African Government. By your present actions in the Party Mr. Leballo, you have given an answer as to why you were amongst other things allowed to leave Maseru (Basutoland) through Jan Smuts Airport inside South Africa, whereas you were once such a dangerously wanted man there. Leballo leadership is a security risk in the S.A. revolution.

"Mr. Leballo, you can have no excuse to the people of South Africa for doing the work of the South African Police against South African Freedom-Fighters, who were lucky to escape when you got all their P.A.C. activists arrested."

J.D. Nyaoase further wrote of P.K. Leballo as follows in a letter dated February 6, 1967, which he sent to P.A.C. dissidents in Nairobi, Kenya:-

"Mr. Leballo ceased in March 1963, to be an accredited Leader (National Secretary) of the P.A.C., when he informed the S.A. Government to arrest more than 15,000 freedom fighters members of the P.A.C. in S.A. stating that he feared that they were about to start another Sharpeville in which European men, women and children would be murdered over one night in S.A."

There is overwhelming evidence that what is called the P.A.C. does not exist as a cohesive organisation. It is indeed surprising and a cause for great concern that the P.A.C. "leadership" is given so much latitude to waste the funds of the O.A.U. and the material support that it provides; it is indeed shocking that the P.A.C. "leadership" should be

allowed to continue biting the very O.A.U. some of whose Member-States it abuses in spite of their obvious tolerance and indirect support. It is tragic that the O.A.U. should unwittingly allow the P.A.C. to continue undermining the South African liberation struggle by squandering the financial, material and refugee assistance granted to it.

The P.A.C. uses much of this O.A.U. assistance to attack the A.N.C. of South Africa and the struggle which it is leading against the fascist White minority regime in South Africa. Occasionally we have been constrained to reply to these attacks rather as a clarification of the distortions and misrepresentations of our history and struggles which the P.A.C. revels in doing.

At the Moshi P.A.C. "re-unification" talks several persons were co-opted into what they termed the "Revolutionary Council". Some of them are Messrs Barney Desai, Cardiff Marney, Tsepo T. Letlaka, Ntantala, Kenneth Jordaan etc. Soon after the Moshi P.A.C. Conference in September 1967, Barney Desai went to Lusaka, Zambia where he held a Press Conference on the outcome of their Moshi "re-unification" talks. Among the points raised in his statement were the following:-

1. That the P.A.C. had worked out at Moshi a blueprint for revolution in South Africa.
2. That the P.A.C. is going to fight inside South Africa and is opposed to fighting in Zimbabwe or anywhere else against the Vorster regime.
3. That the P.A.C. is not opposed to the formation of a United Front but that it should be based on principle. Towards achieving that objective the P.A.C. called for a moratorium among the liberation movements to prevent the attacks and counter-attacks that take place among them.

We of the A.N.C. of South Africa were encouraged by this development in the camp of the P.A.C. and hoped that for once they would pursue their own decisions. But alas ! The P.A.C. were the first to break the "moratorium" which they themselves had proposed.

In their organ, the Azania News, published in Zambia by the P.A.C. they carried a sub-editorial entitled "The Wankie Fiasco" in which they maligned and denigrated the guerrilla fighting which the joint A.N.C. and ZAPU forces were waging in Zimbabwe. In a subsequent issue (Azania News Vol.3. Nos.1-2 January, 1968) they continued to vilify the A.N.C. leadership for having decided on the Wankie operation. The enemy has claimed that with the murder of Che Guevara guerrilla warfare in Latin-America is over. The P.A.C. "leaders" claim that Wankie was a fiasco because some A.N.C. militants fell in action. They show an insatiable appetite for swallowing enemy propaganda and no difficulty to disgorge it in due course. The P.A.C. never hesitates to try and undermine and sabotage the struggle like true enemy agents by trying to demoralise the people and sow confusion amongst them. Wankie was and continues to be a great triumph for the struggle in Southern Africa and only the people's enemy, wrapped up and disguised in pseudo-revolutionary phrases, dares attack the valiant sacrifices made in the Wankie battles in July/August 1967.

The P.A.C. "blueprint for revolution" in South Africa was mass produced and distributed to boost the "revolutionary" image of the P.A.C. But as soon as 13 of their militants returned from military training, they sent them to battle in January 1968. The preparations for that operation were made by a deserter from the A.N.C. guerrilla forces one Gerald Lockman whom the P.A.C. had recruited. Lockman showed the P.A.C. ill-fated 13 the way across the Zambezi near the Kariba where they surrendered without firing a single shot. The P.A.C. at no stage had any serious intention of launching an armed struggle, this operation was mere window-dressing intended to deceive the African States and the world.

The P.A.C. has shamefully tried to conceal and hush up the fact that their 13 militants surrendered in Zimbabwe in January 1968 without even firing a single shot. This has led to renewed bickering, accusations and mutual recriminations among the P.A.C. especially in Lusaka.

P.K. Leballo is at logger-heads with Tsepo T. Letlaka who now has a certain group of the P.A.C. under his "leadership". To avoid embarrassment and to prevent O.A.U. action against



them, P.K. Leballo has threatened to expel T.T. Letlaka. He hopes this will silence Letlaka. P.K. Leballo has also chosen the method of transferring his opponents from one country to another in order to break their cohesion and give the semblance of peace and calm within the "leadership" of the P.A.C. Thus Mr. Masimini, the P.A.C. representative in Lusaka is to be transferred possibly to Algeria and Mr. Sibeko, the P.A.C. representative in Dar es Salaam is to go to Cairo. They may be sent to other places; but the principle of silencing opposition within the P.A.C. in order to give the impression of unity and so retain the O.A.U. support that the P.A.C. misuses remains the basis of Leballo's tactics.

Messrs A.B. Ngcobo and P.N. Raboroko have defected to Nairobi, Kenya from where they hope to "re-unify" the P.A.C. afresh. That is the result of the ill-advised Moshi P.A.C. Conference whose objectives were simply to

1. Organise an opposition Party to the A.N.C. of South Africa.
2. Create a "Revolutionary Council" of the P.A.C. "leadership" to deceive the O.A.U. into continuing to render P.A.C. financial and material support.

But there is always dishonour among thieves. We only hope that the Member-States of the O.A.U. will rid the South African liberation struggle of the heavy liability and subversion that the P.A.C. attempts to carry out on its further development.

The P.A.C. "leadership" requires O.A.U. assistance to satisfy individual, selfish appetites. They are extremely opportunistic and will say or do anything to blacken the A.N.C. of South Africa. The P.A.C. "leadership" lack understanding of the problems involved in the South African struggle precisely because they are preoccupied with the A.N.C. rather than the enemy; their major task is to criticise policies and tactics of the struggle led by the A.N.C. But when they pretend to launch guerrilla struggle themselves, they quickly abandon the futile theorising on how and where to fight.



Another illustration of their irresponsibility and complete lack of interest in the struggle is the fact that recently some of the militarily trained men of the P.A.C. have sold their weapons and ammunition. For this act of treachery and cowardice, these P.A.C. "militants" have been put in jail in some African countries. Do we still have to belabour the point that the granting of O.A.U. recognition to the P.A.C. serves no good purpose to the O.A.U. itself; to the countries that give P.A.C. facilities; and to the South African liberation struggle ?

We should like to conclude by saying that there is abundant evidence that there does not exist an effective and cohesive body known as the P.A.C. which has a serious programme of struggle to liberate the people of South Africa and which can prosecute such a programme. There do exist fragments and factions, led by careerists and fortune-seekers who label themselves the P.A.C. Their main task is to shout revolutionary slogans but at the same time their activities are intended to disrupt, thwart, obstruct and subvert every effort of those who genuinely seek to liberate South Africa. This bankrupt and undefinable P.A.C. was created and is made to survive by forces hostile to African liberation in order to perform this treacherous act. They will not succeed.

We are confident that the O.A.U. will not hesitate to take drastic action against a group of confidence tricksters who abuse its assistance and resources for purposes diametrically opposed to the historic mission of the O.A.U.

Issued by:

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African National Congress (S.A.),  
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MOROGORO.  
TANZANIA.

ANNEXURE "A"

18 Aug 1967

"Mr. Jan van Hoogstraten,  
NEW YORK 10027,  
18 August, 1967.

Dear Mr. van Hoogstraten,

Yesterday I had a conversation with A.B.Ngcobo the leader of the dissident group of PAC members. Both A.B.Ngcobo and Ed.Hawley have been in correspondence with your office about the background of these PAC difficulties.

A.B.Ngcobo was in your office when he was in New York last year, although he had nothing in writing. A.B. said that you promised to help him should the PAC party developments take a turn for the worse and they be left without means of support. Just what did this promise mean? Was it for A.B. Ngcobo personally or was it for the whole group who are effected by the party crisis.

It seems that the situation has deteriorated here. On July 27, 1967 PAC office was closed until an agreement was made to hold a re-organisation conference. However, A.B.Ngcobo was forced to agree to holding a conference held on Leballo's terms. The office reopened this week under Leballo's leadership.

Now the members of dissident group are leaving the country with the exception of A.B.Ngcobo and Peter Raboroko ( the following sentence was deleted in the letter "as it is feared they will also recieve the same treatment that group that the South Africans that went Ethiopia recieved" )

Tomorrow 14 PAC members will leave for Kenya although there is no way of getting a job ...."

NOTE: All spelling and grammar errors were made by the erudite and knowledgeable American Christian who wrote the letter.